

Master Jan Hus – Obedience or Resistance

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SUMMARY

This paper focuses on Master Jan (John, Johannes) Hus (1371-1415), the Czech theologian and reformer who was condemned to death by the medieval Roman Catholic Church and burned at the stake in Constance on July 6, 1415, that is 600 years ago this year. We will look at the theme of 'obedience or resistance' in his life and

work from several sides: after a sketch of his time and some biographical data, we review the church's situation at the time of Hus and his struggle. We describe his stay in Southern Bohemia and his treatment at Constance; finally, we look at Hus' main theological emphases including his personal understanding of *vocatio interna et externa*.

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ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Dieser Artikel konzentriert sich auf Meister Jan Hus (1371-1415), tschechischer Theologe und Reformator, der von der mittelalterlichen Römisch-katholischen Kirche am 6 Juli 1415 in Konstanz zum Tode verurteilt und auf dem Scheiterhaufen verbrannt wurde, also vor genau 600 Jahre. In diesem Artikel werden wir das Thema Gehorsam oder Widerstand in seinem Leben und Werk von unterschiedlichen Blickwinkeln betrachten: Nach

einer kurzen Skizze des zeitgenössischen Hintergrunds und einiger biographischer Daten wenden wir uns der Situation der Kirche zur Zeit von Hus und seinem Kampf für die Erneuerung Kirche zu. Zugleich geben wir eine kurze Beschreibung seines Aufenthaltes in Südböhmen und der Verhandlung seines Falls in Konstanz. Schließlich richten wir unser Augenmerk auf Hus' theologische Schwerpunkte einschließlich seines Verständnisses einer *vocatio interna et vocatio externa* [innere und äußere Berufung].

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RÉSUMÉ

Cette étude s'intéresse à Maître Jean Hus (1371-1415), théologien tchèque et réformateur, qui fut condamné à mort par l'Église catholique romaine et brûlé vif à Constance le 6 juillet 1415, il y a exactement 600 ans cette année. L'auteur considère, sous divers angles, ce que la vie et l'œuvre de Hus peuvent nous apprendre sur la question : « obéissance ou résistance ? ». Après

un bref exposé sur l'époque de Hus et une présentation d'éléments biographiques, il considère quelle était la condition de l'Église et quel a été le combat de Hus. Il décrit son séjour dans le sud de la Bohême et ce qui lui est advenu à Constance. Il considère enfin les points principaux de sa théologie, notamment sa compréhension personnelle de la vocation interne et de la vocation externe.

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1. Three reasons for choosing Ján Hus¹

My first reason for paying attention to Hus is the fact that Jan Hus, like Dietrich Bonhoeffer, spent his life in the church's ministry: in preaching, pastoral care, religious education and teaching at the Charles University in Prague. All his activities were directed to the restoration of the medieval church and society on the basis of God's Word. Therefore, the Czech theologian Lochman can say that 'the

Reformation in Bohemia and Moravia really began a century earlier than it did in the other European countries'.²

The second reason for my choice is that Hus' theological and social emphases were also studied at secondary schools and theological faculties during the era of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia. At high schools instruction concentrated on Hus' linguistic contributions to the

improvement of the Czech language and on his social struggle against the riches and luxury of the medieval clergy, prelates and bishops. The teaching at theological faculties largely focused on Hus' homiletics, hermeneutics and catechesis, because these were directed at the spiritual and social renewal of church and society, and they were acceptable for the communist regime.³

However, all these theological, social, preaching and teaching activities were lacking a broadly open ecumenical Christian theological dialogue about Jan Hus' theological legacy. This dialogue only began after the fall of the Iron Curtain in the European communist countries in 1989. That is why in 1993, four years after that event, the three theological faculties at the Charles University in Prague took the initiative to organise an open international ecumenical conference at Bayreuth in Germany on the theological legacy of Jan Hus as a reformer. Participants at this conference were theologians of the Catholic, Protestant and Hussite theological faculties in Prague as well as experts from the Czech Academy of Sciences and a number of Protestant, Catholic and evangelical believers. The main theme of the conference was *Jan Hus among Epochs, Nations and Confessions*; its findings and conclusions were published in Czech and in German.⁴

The third reason for choosing Hus is the fact that the Charles University in Prague and the Czech Academy of Science, together with other universities and Christian communities in Europe and all over the world, are organising significant celebrations on the occasion of the 600th anniversary of the death of Hus in 2015.

2.1 Birth, studies and occupation

Jan Hus is one of the most outstanding and important personalities in Czech history. He was born about 1371 in the South Bohemian village of Husinec. He received elementary and secondary education in the town of Prachatic and subsequently continued his studies at the Charles University in Prague, where he received a bachelor's degree in 1393 and three years later a master's degree as well. Hus lived during the reign of King Wenceslaus IV of Bohemia who succeeded his father, Charles IV (1346-1378), known as the Czech King and Holy Roman Emperor, and who was the founder of the Charles University in Prague. Jan B. Lášek points to Hus' good relationship with Wenceslaus, with whom he 'went on a journey to France in 1397-1398'. Lášek continues:

After his return he started to lecture at the university, and in 1400 he was ordained priest. In the winter semester of 1401-1402 he became Dean of the Faculty of Arts in Prague. Beginning in March 1402, he was for more than ten years active as a preacher at the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague which had been established in 1391 with the express stipulation that the word of God should be proclaimed in the Czech language.⁵

Those who listened to Hus' sermons in the Bethlehem Chapel between 1402 and 1412 were poor people, students, wealthy Czech citizens and craftsmen; occasionally members of the nobility appeared to hear his sermons as well, courtiers of King Wenceslaus IV, and even queen Sophie (Sofia) herself listened to the words of the local preacher. Hus soon became a well-known, popular and influential preacher of God's word throughout all of Bohemia. In his theological emphases Hus followed 'a reform movement which had begun in the fourteenth century with Konrad von Waldhauser, Jan Milič of Kroměříž and Mathias of Janov'.⁶ This suggestion is confirmed by the fact that Hus compared and measured the daily life of the Christians and the church representatives by the Holy Scriptures as the only valid spiritual, moral and social norm for both Church and society.

2.2 The church at Jan Hus' time

The Czech church historian Lydie Čejpová emphasizes that Master Jan Hus was personally deeply shocked by the situation in the church at his time, because 'he saw that there were many unfaithful shepherds who led people to perdition'.⁷ Another leading church historian at the Hussite Theological Faculty, Jan Lášek, characterises the situation of the church at that time thus:

The church of those times had become secularized and in many respects decadent ... the power and authority of the popes had declined, and there were two rival popes, one in Rome and one in Avignon. ... Various reforming tendencies emerged in all parts of Europe. The conciliar movement denied papal authority and wanted to transfer it to an ecumenical council. ... The powerful movement of *Devotio moderna* (the new devotion), inspired by the Dutchman Geert Groote (1340-1348), proclaimed the rebirth of man in Christ and spread into the Czech lands.⁸

Hus preached the word of God in the Bethlehem Chapel and thanks to his important positions as a priest and a university teacher he could influence the entire Czech public with his biblical sermons.

3. Hus' theological orientation and his efforts to reform the medieval church

Jan Hus' theology was deeply influenced by the well-known British philosopher and theologian Jan Wycliffe (or Wyclif, 1330-1384), whose writings began to circulate in Bohemia at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Lásek states that

The main points in them to have an influence on Hus were the fervent desire to establish order in the church and the criticism of the actual state of the church.

Hus had strong views 'on the lack of order in the church, which had at first two, and later three popes'. Hus was also

enthusiastic about Wyclif's view that the church is an invisible community preordained for salvation [*numerus praedestinatorum*] and that if the visible church is not capable of living in accordance with the Gospel on its own, then the secular authorities should restore order.⁹

The worldly authorities were qualified for this task by their moral qualities, Hus thought. He was also attracted by Wyclif's way of thinking because the philosophical and theological roots of the two men were similar.

3.1 Hus and the archbishop

At first, the archbishop of Prague, Zbyněk Zajíc of Hazeburg, supported Hus and he twice appointed him as a preacher at a congress of clergy of the Archdiocese in Prague. Hus enjoyed the support of the archbishop during the years 1403-1408, but when disputes over Wycliffe started at the University in Prague, Hus' situation began to change. As it happened, some Czech masters were defending Wycliffe while others made him out to be a heretic.

Matthew Spinka explains that at this time five students of Prague University sent an appeal to the cardinals of the council that was meeting at Pisa (March 25, 1409): 'They utilized this otherwise trivial occasion to put pressure on Archbishop Zbyněk, and initiated legal proceedings against him.' But the archbishop was fearful of the outcome and sent two canonists to Pisa to announce his submission to pope Alexander V, requesting an

end to the process against him. In his message, the archbishop 'complained of the spread of Wyclifism both in Bohemia and Moravia, claiming that it had infected the hearts of many, and requested authority to proceed against it.' In response, the pope issued a bull that requested the archbishop to forbid that any preachers would carry on preaching or talking to people in other locations than in the cathedral churches, parish churches, monasteries or in their cemeteries. This papal regulation Hus refused to obey because he considered it to be inconsistent with the fact that Jesus had preached in all places and had sent his disciples into all the world, according to Matthew 28:18-19.¹⁰

On December 20, 1409, the pope issued a bull which stated that most of Wycliffe's works were heretical. It authorized archbishop Zbyněk to appoint a six-member commission to examine Wycliffe's books, which he then had to remove from the eyes of the faithful. He was also required to uproot Wyclifism from the country and to punish all who would be found professing 'these damnable heresies'. The bull reached Zbyněk on March 12, 1410, but he did not make it public until the usual June meeting of the synod, on June 16, 1410. A few days later, Hus preached a sermon in which he charged the prelates with being more audacious than Christ himself, who said that 'He judges no one - while they dared to condemn Wyclif's works and forbade under pain of excommunication preaching in chapels'.¹¹

Later in that same year 1410, the archbishop ordered Wycliffe's books to be burned. Hus protested against this in his sermons and as a consequence was anathematised by the archbishop. Hus' response to the archbishop's ban can be found in two of his sermons. On June 22, 1410, he preached on Luke 5:1 in the Bethlehem Chapel where, among other things,

he pointed out, first of all that Jesus preached standing by the lake Gennesareth, thus demonstrating that preaching could take place anywhere, even though the Pharisees and the scribes opposed it.¹²

Hus called the church leaders of his time 'scribes' and added:

Because our scribes desire the same, commanding that there be no preaching in chapels, even such as had been approved by the apostolic authority, therefore I, wishing to obey God rather than men, and to conform to the acts of Christ rather than to theirs, appeal from this

wrongful command first of all to God, to whom belongs the principal authority to grant the power to preach ...¹³

After the ban on preaching and the condemnation of Wycliffe's books, Hus appealed to pope Alexander V in 1410, but the meeting did not take place because the pope died suddenly. Hus subsequently made an appeal to the new pope, John XXIII, but the meeting was not positive for Hus. After two further unsuccessful attempts to have audiences, Hus did not obey the command to stop preaching and in his other sermon on December 20, 1410, to the text Acts 6:12, he exclaimed rhetorically:

Someone will say, 'But you, Hus, do not wish to be subject to your prelates, do not obey the elders, not even the archbishop' ... I reply that I desire to be as Balaam's ass. Because the prelates sit on me, wishing to force me to go against the command of God ... I will press the feet of their desire and will not obey them, for the angel of the Lord stands before me in the way.¹⁴

Hus also explained his refusal to be obedient to men in these words: 'I appealed to the head of the Church, the Lord Jesus Christ, because He is more sovereign than any pope.' If Hus had obeyed the church and stopped preaching, he would have been troubled by his conscience, which had experienced a personal calling of God to the ministry. He would also have disappointed the loyal listeners to his sermons and he would have been compromised in the eyes of all faithful Christians.¹⁵

After Hus' refusal to stop preaching, the archbishop strengthened the anathema against him and 'had it confirmed by the pope and had it proclaimed in all churches in Prague in March 1411'.¹⁶ At this very critical time for Hus he published a treatise *De libris hereticorum legendis* – 'Concerning the reading of heretical books'.¹⁷ The archbishop brought a complaint against Hus before the pope Jan XXIII, and Hus also appealed to this pope. But, as Hus wrote, 'Even after two years he did not give my attorneys and representatives any hearing and in the meantime I was affected by the continued prosecution.' In spite of this, Hus did not obey and was even more active in the university and the Bethlehem Chapel, writing a further tract entitled: *Replica contra occultum adversarium* (Response against hidden enemies).¹⁸

The next year, 1412, emissaries of the pope arrived in Prague with a papal bull authorising the sale of indulgences, the proceedings of which

would help the pope to finance his war against the King of Naples. Hus wanted to be obedient to the law of Christ, so he stood firm in his resistance against this bull. He considered this indulgence trafficking in repentance and publicly proclaimed that even the pope, if he ignored the law of Christ, was not worthy of obedience. Riots broke out in Prague; three young men, Jan, Martin and Stašek, were arrested and later executed. Jan Hus led their public funeral as Christian martyrs on July 11, 1412. Immediately after it, Prague

was placed under interdict (no church offices, including baptism, funerals and masses were allowed to be held in the city while Hus remained there) and the king was also threatened with a papal anathema.¹⁹

3.2 Hus in Southern Bohemia

Hus was aware of how difficult the situation had become for the Czech king and for the whole city. For this reason he decided to leave Prague on October 18, 1412, and he moved to South Bohemia where during the years 1412-1414 he stayed in the area of Koží Hrádek near the town of Tábor. He still preached the word of God and served many listeners. Before he left Prague, he appealed to Christ:

I, Jan Hus of Husinec, master of arts and formatus bachelor of sacred theology of the University of Prague, and an appointed priest and preacher of the chapel called Bethlehem, make this appeal to Jesus Christ, the most just judge, who knows, protects, judges, declares, and rewards without fail the just cause of every man ... walking from Prague to exile ...²⁰

Hus used his residence in South Bohemia for publications such as *The Creed*, *The Ten Commandments and the Paternoster*, *Daughter*, *De ecclesia* (Concerning the Church) and *Sermo de pace* (Discourse on Peace). In 1413 he also wrote several responses in Latin to the accusations of his opponents, from which it is evident that for him obedience to Christ was more important than the institution of the church, its hierarchy and even the pope himself. Hus' obedience to God and disobedience to the church went hand in hand with his empathic, respectful behaviour towards those who might get into conflict with the leaders of the official church because of him.

3.3 Hus in Constance

Hus' presence was requested at the Council of Constance and on October 14, 1414, he decided to leave Prague and to travel to Constance in the company of leading Czech nobles; they arrived on November 3, 1414. Hus thought that it would be possible to have public discussions about his writings and teaching, in order to get to know what was wrong and unbiblical in his teaching. But instead of this, he was arrested on November 28, 1414 and kept in prison in various places. On several occasions he was called before the Council and put under pressure to withdraw everything previously taught and preached. 'The council wanted me to say that the articles selected from my books ... are false. I did not unless they tell me their inaccuracy from Scripture.' Hus refused to recant and was condemned as an intractable heretic and burned at the stake on July 6, 1415; his ashes were scattered in the River Rhine.²¹ Before his death he wrote on June 21, 1415:

This is my final intention in the name of Jesus Christ: that I refuse to confess as erroneous the articles which have been truthfully abstracted and to abjure the things ascribed to me by false witnesses... For God knows that I have never preached those errors, which they have concocted ...²²

4. Between obedience and resistance

In this section we look at some of Hus' core convictions and their relevance for today.

4.1 The concept of the Holy Scriptures

Hus considers the Bible to be the absolutely valid standard for the life of the Church, for tradition and society. This is the main reason why all his sermons focus on a correct interpretation of the Scriptures. He uses diverse names for the Bible, such as 'the Holy Scriptures', which means the Old and New Testament, the biblical canon, as adopted by the early church. Both parts of the Bible are, according to Hus, 'the word of God, in which are contained all the necessary soteriological important objectives of God's commandments and actions'. In Hus' view, 'the Mosaic Law, the Pentateuch, teaches us what we are to do', 'the prophets teach what we believe' and Psalms bring us to the content of prayer, namely 'how we should pray properly'. It seems that with these words, 'Hus emphasizes three normative meanings of the

Old Testament: doctrinal, ethical and practically religious'.²³

In contrast, the New Testament proclaims Jesus Christ as 'the Creator and Lord of the World', the only begotten Son of God, who took the form of a servant; he is also called 'the eternal God' and other titles. Jesus Christ 'is the crucified, risen and glorified Lord and Judge, who will come again'. So the whole New Testament is about Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord of the Church and the world. The testimony of all Christ's acts of salvation is confirmed by the Holy Spirit in the preaching of God's Word. In addition, Hus calls the Holy Scriptures '*Lex Christi*', '*Lex Dei*', 'The Word of Truth' and even 'Kingdom of God'.²⁴ These titles confirm the fact that for Jan Hus the whole Bible is God's Word and absolutely the only applicable standard for the life of the Church, its traditions, society, proclamation, liturgy, teaching and pastoral ministry. Hus also holds that the individual believers, churches and state authorities have to be obedient to the Holy Scripture.

4.2 Hus' inward calling to preaching and ministry

When the church forbade him to preach and teach, Hus disobeyed because he had known his personal inward calling by God, as revealed in Jesus Christ, to proclaim God's word everywhere. He considered this service to be a part of his struggle for the renewal of the church (*vocatio interna*). It was the Triune God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, who had called him to have a ministry in the church (1 Cor 12:28). Along with this, Hus also had a calling from the church to serve it as a priest, a *vocatio externa*. Both these callings and his knowledge of them helped Hus to overcome all obstacles, pressures and inner anxieties that he felt when he refused to be subjected to the regulations of the ecclesiastical authorities. God's calling to preach strengthened Hus internally to obey God in Jesus Christ and to be disobedient to the church hierarchy.

Hus' concept of call shows that even today God's call to serve the proclamation of the Word of God can help preachers to overcome all sorts of temptations, doubts, inner struggles, obstacles of incomprehension and misunderstanding from two sides: from believers within the church organisation and from non-believers outside it. Similarly the apostle Paul, in his difficult situation of being misunderstood and falsely accused, confesses: '... it would be agony for me not to preach' (1 Cor. 9:16). Hus' *vocatio interna et externa* led him to

unconditional obedience to God and to disobedience to the secular and church authorities of his time.

4.3 Hus' understanding of the Church

Hus' concept of the Christian Church is largely based on Wycliffe's concept of the Church as the *numerus praedestinatorum* (predetermined number).²⁵ Following Augustine and the biblical text Ephesians 1:3-11, Hus talks about God's twofold grace: 'the first is the grace of predestination to eternal life as we see in all the saints who belong to the Holy Mother Church'; the second grace 'is destined only for those who presently seem just' and who receive forgiveness of sins, but who 'backslide in faith' and lose their salvation, as we see in Judas Iscariot who 'never belonged to Holy Mother Church'. On this basis Hus rejects 'the thesis that the pope and the cardinals constitute the Roman Church, contends that no pope is the head of the Church catholic, but only Christ Himself ... the pope is its head if he is one of the predestinate'.²⁶ In *puncto*, Hus discusses three aspects of the Church: militant, latent and triumphant.

The church militant is of a mixed character, 'comprising both the good and the wicked'. Hus' concepts of *ecclesia militans* and *numerus praedestinatorum* are based on Jesus' parables (Matthew 13:24-30 and 13:47), which are not concerned with fighting or with the latent church, but with the presence of God's Kingdom in the world.

Hus was also influenced by the apostle Paul, who describes the Church as *sōma tou Christou* – the body of Christ (1 Cor 12:12). Hus points to the reality of the church militant as a *corpus mixtum* in history, and he explains the metaphor with respect to the biological human body, saying that the human body 'contains elements that are foreign to it such as spittle, phlegm, excrements and urine that are eliminated from the body'. So 'on the Day of Judgment all three parts will be united into one: the Church triumphant' and 'the predestinate alone will remain being bound to the head Christ by predestinating love'. But the predestinated may even now rely on the apostle's words which say: 'For those whom God knew before ever they were, he also ordained to share the likeness of his Son ... and those whom he foreordained, he also called ... justified and ... glorified' (Rom 8:28-30).²⁷

The concept of the Church as the *numerus praedestinatorum*, which is based on Wycliffe's

theological explanations of Jesus' parables, we need to receive with some degree of caution. On the other hand, the concepts of *ecclesia militans* and *corpus mixtum* led the reformer Hus to the conclusion that true, faithful preaching of God's word automatically reveals the sinful life, wrongdoing, scandals and immorality of all, including church leaders. In this way Hus wanted to use the Word of God to serve a spiritual renewal so that the Church may become the actual body of Christ in the world. For this reason he refused to obey any ecclesiastical decisions that contradicted the Holy Scriptures, and he was ready to accept all the risks of suffering, contempt and even being sentenced to death. Besides, according to Hus, the spiritual renewal of the Church starts with love for God and our neighbours, which includes the restoration of our relationship to God and our interpersonal relationships (Mt 22:34-40). Hus' emphasis on true biblical preaching and on constant obedience to God's word is also essential for the contemporary church.

4.4. Obedience to the authorities

All main thoughts relating to the topic of obedience to the authorities occur in Hus' work *De ecclesia* (On the Church) which he wrote during his exile in South Bohemia (1412-1414). The decisions of the Council of Pisa (1378), chapters 17-21, included the obligation of obedience to the authority of the pope and the prelates. In contrast to that view, Hus talks about three states or groupings: clergy, nobility and lay people. All of them belong to the *ecclesia militans*; therefore, it is very important 'to be properly commingled into church militant'. All three states are members of the church and 'obedience is due to that which is good, disobedience to that which is evil'. Following what the apostle Paul writes in Romans 13:1-7, Hus 'teaches that obedience is due to superiors, both secular and spiritual, for they are ordained to encourage the good and punish the evil'.²⁸

With respect to the three states Hus talks about threefold obedience: spiritual, secular and ecclesiastical. 'Spiritual obedience is due to God's law; the Saviour and the apostles lived under it and so should we.' This requirement of obedience is absolute. Secular obedience is due to secular rulers provided, however, that their laws do not conflict with those of God. The third is ecclesiastical obedience, which has to do with regulations of the priests of the Church which go over and beyond

the expressed authority of Scripture.²⁹ Obedience to secular and ecclesiastical authorities only has relative importance because it is limited: their regulations apply only when they do not contradict God's laws. Jan Hus explicitly argues that 'when prelates or secular rulers command anything in accordance with Christ's teaching, we ought to obey'. But when they command what is contrary to God's law, it is not good to obey them. However, Hus is aware that 'many teach that we must obey our superiors in all things ... whether they be good or bad'.³⁰

This threefold obedience is evident in his own situation; Hus writes 'that it is right to preach against wicked prelates and priests whose lives scandalize the people'. On the other hand, 'it is equally right to praise the priests when they strive to follow Christ and thus to encourage them in well-doing...'.³¹ Preaching the Word of God and appealing for obedience to God's word should be done in love because true faith in God and obedience always co-exist with love for God and neighbours as they are. In this context Hus explicitly says that 'It is just when God and Church authorities exclude someone for sinning mortally and openly. However, even in a such case he must first be warned and admonished three times, according to Christ's instruction to the disciples (Matthew 18:15-17)'.³² This point illustrates Hus' concept of the ecclesiastical discipline.

5. Summary and conclusion

We can summarise Hus' thoughts as follows:

- 1) Obedience to God's Word has absolute priority in relation to all three states: spiritual, secular and religious.
- 2) When these three states are not acting in accordance with God's Word, disobedience is a responsible Christian act. (Indirectly, Hus' theological-ethical conclusions also indicate how strong the temptation was, is and will remain for the church to have political, economic, religious and institutional power.)
- 3) In its history, the empiric, institutional church has seldom resisted the voice of the serpent in paradise which said: '... for God knows that, as soon as you eat it, your eyes will be opened and you will be like God himself...' (Gen 3:5), or the voice of the devil saying to Jesus: 'All this I will give you, if you will only fall down and do me homage' (Mt 4:8-10).

I am convinced that Hus' belief in the absolutely valid authority of the Holy Scripture, his love for God and neighbour, his inner conviction of being called by God to the proclamation of the Word of God, and his unconditional obedience to the Lord God in combination with disobedience of any human institution when it was acting against the Word of God, are valid parts of a healthy theology and ethics for Christian churches in the postmodern world, wherever similar or analogical situations may occur. For the institutional church the apostle's words. 'For our struggle is not against human foes, but against cosmic powers, against the authorities and potentates of this dark age, against the superhuman forces of evil in the heavenly realms. Therefore, take up the armour of God...' (Eph 6:12-18) were, are, and always will be valid. Master Jan Hus left us a testimony of love and of service to God by his obedient Christian faith and by his martyrdom.

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Endnotes

- 1 Edited version of a paper presented at the biennial conference of the Fellowship of European Evangelical Theologians, 29 August – 2 September 2014, in Orsay near Paris.
- 2 Jan Mili Lochman, *Church in a Marxist Society. A Czechoslovak view* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970) 31.
- 3 Josef Smolík, *Kázání v reformaci* (Praha: Komenského evangelická bohoslovecká fakulta v Praze, 1957) 10-15; Rudolf Horský, 'Kazatelské a pastýřské dílo M. Jana Husi' in *Hus stále živý. Sborník studií k 55.výročí Husova upálení, uspořádal Miloslav Kaniák* (Praha: Blahoslav, 1965) 45-53.
- 4 Czech edition: *Ján Hus mezi epochami, národy a konfesemi. Sborník z mezinárodního sympozia, konaného 22.-26. září 1993 v Bayreuthu, SRN, k vydání připravil Ján Blahoslav Lášek ve spolupráci se leny mezinárodního výboru sympozia* (Praha: Vydala Česká křesťanská akademie ve spolupráci s Husitskou teologickou fakultou Univerzity Karlovy, 1995); German edition: Ferdinand Seibt (Hrsg.) *Jan Hus. Zwischen Zeiten, Völkern, Konfessionen. Vorträge des internationalen Symposiums in Bayreuth von 22. bis 26. September 1993* (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1997).
- 5 Ján Blahoslav Lášek, '1.2 Master John Hus (1371-1415)' in *Mistr Ján Hus v proměnách času a jeho*

- poselství víry dnešku, 1. Vydání* (Praha: Církev československé husitská, 2012) 14.
- 6 Lochman, *Church in a Marxist Society*, 31.
- 7 Lydie Čejpová, 'Mistr Ján Hus – hlas volající k obrodě církve' in *Kostnické jiskry* 78.25 (1993) 1.
- 8 Lášek, '1.2 Master John Hus', 13.
- 9 Lášek, '1.2 Master John Hus', 14.
- 10 Mistr Jan Hus, *O církvi*. Přeložili a poznámkami opatřili František M. Dobiáš a Amedeo Molnár (Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1965), 159.
- 11 Matthew Spinka, *John Hus' Concept of the Church* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1966) 94-95.
- 12 See Hus' sermon on Luke 5:1-11 in *Jan Hus Postilla* (Praha: Komenského evangelická fakulta bohoslovecká, 1952) 305-308.
- 13 Spinka, *John Hus' Concept of the Church*, 95.
- 14 A. Cisařová – Kolářová, *Mistr Ján Hus, Betlémské poselství* (Praha, 1947), quoted in Spinka, *Hus' Concept of the Church*, 102.
- 15 For further studies see Hus, *O církvi*, 156-166; 'Wiclif's Forty-Five Articles. Condemned on July 10, 1412' in Spinka, *John Hus' Concept of the Church*, 397-400.
- 16 Lášek, '1.2 Master John Hus', 15.
- 17 Details in Paul de Voogt, *L'hérésie de Jean Hus* (Louvain: Publication Universitaires de Louvain, 1960) 127-131.
- 18 Hus, *O církvi*, 160.
- 19 Lášek, '1.2 Master John Hus', 16.
- 20 *Husova výzbroj do Kostnice*, K vydání připravili F. M. Dobiáš a Amedeo Molnár (Praha: Edice Kalich, 1965) 32.
- 21 *Sto listů Mistra Jana Husi*. Vybral, latinské přeložil a poznámkami doprovodil Bohumil Ryba. (Praha: Vydal Jan Laichter, 1949) 233.
- 22 Spinka, *John Hus' Concept of the Church*, 375.
- 23 Ján Liguš, 'Hussens Schriftbegriff' in Seibt, *Jan Hus Zwischen Zeiten, Völkern, Konfessionen*, 127.
- 24 More details in Liguš, 'Hussens Schriftbegriff', 128-131.
- 25 Hus, *O církvi*, 36. For further study of the Church as *numerus praedestinatorum*, see Viliam Judak, *Kristova Církev na ceste. Ilustrované církevní dejiny* (Trnava: Vydal Spolok svätého Vojtecha, 1998) 157-159.
- 26 Spinka, *John Hus' Concept of the Church*, 224.
- 27 Hus, *O církvi*, 148, see also 143-167.
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- 30 Jan Hus, 'Sermones in Bethlehem', in Spinka, *John Hus' Concept of the Church*, 299.
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